

Message Text

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SUBJECT: NEW KOREAN PROPOSAL

FOLLOWING BACKGROUND MATERIAL MAY BE USEFUL IN RESPONDING
TO QUESTIONS ABOUT KOREAN SECTION IN SECRETARY'S SPEECH:

1. IN OUR APPROACH, AND IN THE RESOLUTION WE HAVE
ALREADY SUBMITTED, THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE CLEAR
THAT WE ARE WILLING TO SEE THE UN COMMAND DISSOLVED
AS EARLY AS JANUARY FIRST, NEXT YEAR, IF THIS CAN BE
WORKED OUT; PROVIDED ONLY THAT THE INTEGRITY OF THE
ARMISTICE REGIME IS MAINTAINED. THIS IS IMPORTANT
BECAUSE IT IS THE ONE DOCUMENT WHICH REGULATES THE
MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA. THE
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COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE UN FORCE IS A SIGNATORY TO THAT AGREEMENT. THEREFORE, YOU CANNOT ABOLISH THE UN COMMAND WITHOUT HAVING SOME ARRANGEMENT TO REPLACE THE PARTICIPATION OF THE UN COMMAND IN THE ARMISTICE REGIME. SO THE BASIC THRUST OF OUR PROPOSAL IS TO BE SURE THAT EVEN THOUGH THE UN COMMAND MAY BE WITHDRAWN THIS NOT BE DONE IN A VACUUM WHICH WOULD GIVE RISE TO A POSSIBLE TEMPTATION TO SOME ADVENTUROUS MOVES.

2. BUT WE GO BEYOND THAT, AND ON KOREA WE ADVANCE ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT AND IMPORTANT NEW PROPOSALS

IN THE SPEECH, THAT IS WHERE THE SECRETARY ANNOUNCES THAT WE AND THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA ARE HEREWITH PROPOSING TO THE OTHER PARTIES TO THE ARMISTICE, I.E. CHINA AND NORTH KOREA, THE CONVENING OF A CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS WAYS TO PRESERVE THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT -- AND THEN GOING BEYOND -- AND THIS IS THE NEW PART -- "AT SUCH A MEETING, WE WOULD ALSO BE PREPARED TO EXPLORE OTHER MEASURES TO REDUCE TENSION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF A LARGER CONFERENCE TO NEGOTIATE A MORE FUNDAMENTAL ARRANGEMENT." THE APPROACH WE TOOK LAST YEAR WAS TO INDICATE WILLINGNESS TO TALK ABOUT MEANS TO REPLACE THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. BUT WE HAVE IN THE MEANTIME HAD A PROPOSAL FROM NORTH KOREA FOR A PEACE AGREEMENT JUST WITH THE UNITED STATES; THAT IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO US. WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY DISCUSSION OF FAR-REACHING AGREEMENTS ON ARRANGEMENTS ON THE PENINSULA WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA. BUT WE DO THINK YOU COULD HAVE A CONFERENCE OF THE FOUR--DISCUSSING NOT ONLY MEASURES TO REPLACE THE ARMISTICE REGIME, BUT SOME FURTHER STEPS WHICH WOULD FACILITATE A REDUCTION OF TENSION IN THE PENINSULA.

3. WE HAVE NOT TRIED TO SPELL THOSE STEPS OUT. WE WOULD BE OPEN MINDED AS TO WHAT THE AGENDA MIGHT BE. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT IF THOSE TALKS WENT WELL, THEN ONE OF THE SUBJECTS THAT MIGHT BE DISCUSSED WOULD BE THE POSSIBILITY OF ARRANGING FOR A MORE BROADLY BASED CONFERENCE TO TALK ABOUT MORE PERMANENT ARRANGEMENTS. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BUT WE THINK THE RIGHT THING TO DO IS PROCEED WITH A CONFERENCE OF THE FOUR AS A NEXT STEP.

4. IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE OTHER SIDE IS AWARE OF THE FACT THAT OUR NEW PROPOSAL WAS BEING ANNOUNCED IN THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH.

5. WE DO NOT HAVE ANY FIXED AGENDA IN MIND AT THIS POINT. TO BE INCLUDED, ITEMS SHOULD BE BASED ON GOOD FAITH INTENTION ON THE PART OF ALL SIDES TO TAKE RECIPROCAL MEASURES TO REDUCE TENSION. BUT THE AGENDA, OF COURSE, COULD ONLY BE ADOPTED WITH THE AGREEMENT OF ALL THE PARTICIPANTS, AND WE HAVE NOT YET TALKED WITH ANY OF THE PARTICIPANTS ABOUT ANY OF THE AGENDA. OUR EMPHASIS IS ON PRESERVING THE ARMISTICE AND REDUCING TENSIONS, AND IT WOULD BE WITHIN THIS CONTEXT THAT ANYTHING LIKE TROOP REDUCTIONS OVER THE LONGER TERM WOULD HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED.

6. IF THERE WERE TO BE A BROADER CONFERENCE ON MORE PERMANENT ARRANGEMENTS, OUR VIEW IS THAT THE COMPOSITION OF SUCH A BROADER CONFERENCE SHOULD BE THE TOPIC OF DISCUSSION OF THIS SMALLER MEETING WHICH WE HAVE PROPOSED, THAT IS, THE FOUR POWER MEETING, AND WE OURSELVES WOULD HAVE AN OPEN MIND AS TO WHO MIGHT PARTICIPATE IN ANY SUCH BROADER CONFERENCE.

7. THE SECRETARY ALSO RETURNS TO THE QUESTION OF MEMBERSHIP. THIS IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE THE ASSEMBLY HAS JUST RECOMMENDED THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL ONCE MORE TAKE UP THE QUESTION OF THE ADMISSION OF THE TWO VIET-NAMS. WE CONTINUE TO FEEL THAT WHILE UNIVERSALITY IS AN IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE, AND ONE WE ARE GOING TO SUPPORT, WE CANNOT SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF UNIVERSALITY JUST AS INTERPRETED BY THE OTHER SIDE. IN OTHER WORDS, WE OPPOSE SELECTIVE UNIVERSALITY, AND THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO VETO THE ADMISSION OF THE TWO VIETNAMS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL UNLESS SOUTH KOREA IS ALSO PERMITTED ADMISSION. ROBINSON UNQTE KISSINGER

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